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Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

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S E C R E T GENEVA 8625

NODIS

CHEROKEE

TO THE SECRETARY FROM SCHAUFELE

E.O. 11652: XFDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK
SUBJECT: RHODESIAN CONFERENCE: MEETING WITH NKOMO

1. I MET WITH NKOMO AT AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE, WHICH WAS NKOMO'S PREFERENCE. AFTER INTRODUCTORY CHIT-CHAT, NKOMO IMMEDIATELY SENT THE TWO PEOPLE WITH HIM OUT OF THE ROOM.

2. AFTER I HAD GONE THROUGH MY TALKING POINTS WHICH NKOMO TOOK WITH EQUANIMITY HE REVERTED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY TO THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH. AMONG OTHER THINGS HE SAID THE BRITISH ARE IN THE PROCESS. HE CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY THEY ARE SO RELUCTANT AND QUESTIONED WHETHER REAL PROGRESS COULD BE MADE WITHOUT SELECTIVE BRITISH INITIATIVE, IF NECESSARY BACKED BY THE US. HE URGED US TO USE OUR INFLUENCE TO PERSUADE THE BRITISH TO BECOME A REAL FACTOR IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. BEYOND THE ASSIGNMENT OF A GOVERNOR GENERAL HE ARGUED IN FAVOR OF THE ASSIGNMENT OF BRITISH OR COMMONWEALTH MILITARY OFFICERS. CONTRARY TO SMITH EARLIER, HE THOUGHT A VISIBLE BRITISH POLITICAL PRESENCE WOULD BE REASSURING FOR THE WHITE POPULATION.

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3. HE SAID HIS ALLIANCE WITH MUGABE WAS A REAL

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ALLIANCE; SINCE MUGABE HAS LITTLE IN THE WAY OF A
POLITICAL BASE WITHIN RHODESIA HE IS CONSTANTLY
LOOKING OVER HIS SHOULDER OF THE MILITANT ZIPA.
IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION ON THIS POINT NKOMO
WHO I EXPECTED TO HAVE RESERVATIONS, AS HE PROBABLY
DOES, ABOUT THE MUZOREWA ONE MAN, ONE VOTE FORMULA,
STATED HIS PREFERENCE FOR "DEMOCRATIC PROCESS"
BECAUSE THE MOST RADICAL OF THE ZIPA MILITANTS
WANT NO ELECTION AT ALL WHICH IS THE ONLY WAY THEY CAN
COME TO POWER.

4. I ASKED HIM IF ALL FOUR NATIONALISTS LEADERS
IN GENEVA WOULD HAVE TO AGREE TO AN EVENTUAL SETTLE-
MENT. HE REPLIED, NOT NECESSARILY; HE CAN LIVE WITH
A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF GUERRILLA ACTIVITY
AGAINST THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

5. SINCE NKOMO ALSO BROUGHT UP THE POINT THAT IT WAS
NECESSARY TO SET A DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE, AS ONE OF
THE FIRST MATTERS BEFORE THE CONFERENCE, I ASKED WHY
THIS WAS SO IMPORTANT. SOMEWHAT DISINGENUOUSLY
HE SAID THAT ONE MUST KNOW THE TIMEFRAME FOR
INDEPENDENCE IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH THE INSTITUTIONS
AND PROCEDURES TO ACHIEVE IT WITHIN THAT TIMEFRAME.
I THEN ASKED IF HE COULD ACCEPT A DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE
WHICH WAS CONDITIONAL UPON THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION
OF THE CONFERENCE AND AGREEMENT OF THE PARTIES. HE
SAID THAT WAS NO PROBLEM FOR HIM.

6. HE EXPRESSED GREAT CONCERN OVER THE POSSIBILITY
OF ANOTHER ANGOLA IN RHODESIA STATING THAT THE SOVIETS
AND THE CUBANS HAD NEVER BEEN IN ANGOLA, HAVE SUDDENLY
APPEARED AND ARE NOW FIRMLY IN PLACE. THE FIRST
REQUIREMENT TO PREVENT SUCH A DEVELOPMENT IN RHODESIA
IS THE SUCCESS OF THE CONFERENCE. THIS GAVE ME
AN OPPORTUNITY TO REITERATE THE APPROPRIATE TALKING
POINTS WITH WHICH NKOMO DID NOT DISAGREE. HE
OBVIOUSLY HAS SOME RESERVATIONS ABOUT MOZAMBIQUE BUT
BELIEVES THAT ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD A PEACEFUL SETTLE-
MENT HAS CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE PAST SIX WEEKS.
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7. THE SECOND WAY TO AVOID A REPETITION OF ANGOLA
WAS TO DEVELOP AND INTENSIFY HIS ALLIANCE WITH
MUGABE.

8. AT THE END OF OUR CONVERSATION NKOMO ASKED ME NOT
TO TALK ABOUT THE FACT THAT WE HAD MET. I SAID THIS
WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT. I WAS BEING PESTERED BY

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THE PRESS CONSTANTLY WHO ALREADY KNOW WHOM I HAD SEEN AND WERE BOUND TO ASK WHETHER I HAD SEEN NKOMO. PART OF HIS PROBLEM, ACCORDING TO NKOMO, WAS THE EFFORTS OF THE SOVIETS ADVERSELY TO INFLUENCE THE VARIOUS DELEGATES. I SAID I WOULD DO THE BEST I COULD BUT I CERTAINLY WOULD NOT TALK ABOUT THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR CONVERSATION.

9. COMMENT: NKOMO WAS VERY FORTHCOMING AND ENCOURAGING; HOWEVER, HE HAS LOCKED HIMSELF INTO AN APPARENTLY NECESSARY BUT CONFINING RELATIONSHIP WITH MUGABE AND FEARS THE POTENTIAL POPULARITY OF MUZOREWA. THEREFORE, HE WILL HAVE TO MOVE CAUTIOUSLY AND PERHAPS SOMETIMES IN CONFLICT WITH US IF HE IS TO MAINTAIN HIS POSITION AND CREDENTIALS.

10. OBVIOUSLY THE NATIONALISTS BELIEVE THAT BRITAIN HAS TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE PRIMARILY, I BELIEVE, BECAUSE THE BRITISH WILL PROBABLY BE THE ONLY ACCEPTABLE SOURCE OF WORKABLE SOLUTIONS. CATTO

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